UNITED NATIONS

General Assembly

FORTY-FIFTH SESSION

Official Records

FIRST COMMITTEE
47th meeting
held on
Wednesday, 28 November 1990
at 3.30 p.m.
New York

VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 47th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. RANA (Nepal)

CONTENTS

- General debate, consideration of and action on draft resolutions on international security agenda items (continued)
- Report of the Economic and Social Council (chapter III, section D)
- Question of Antarctica: consideration of and action on draft resolutions (continued)

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Distr. GENERAL
A/C.1/45/PV.47
7 December 1990
ENGLISH

90-63298 3483V (E)

best copy available

The meeting was called to order at 3.55 p.m.

AGENDA ITEMS 68, 69, 70 AND 12 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE, CONSIDERATION OF AND ACTION ON DRAFT RESOLUTIONS ON INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AGENDA ITEMS

REPORT OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL (chapter III, section D)

Mr. SARDENBERG (Brazil): Allow me to start on a personal note, Sir. Twenty years ago, when the General Assembly adopted virtually unanimously the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security (resolution 2734 (XXV)), I had the opportunity, as a junior member of the Brazilian delegation to the First Committee, to participate in the intensive negotiations leading to the final text of the Declaration, to which the Latin American States made a significant contribution.

In 1970 the world was a different place. United Nations membership was a little more than 120 States, and we were still discussing the question of the admission of two Germanys. East-West confrontation was a crude reality, with the arms race, particularly the nuclear-arms race, reaching overwhelming proportions. Conflicts around the globe were fuelled by super-Power competition for spheres of influence. Decolonization in many countries was still a coveted dream, and the international community was increasingly aware of the heinous régime of apartheid. The need for a more just and balanced economic order was at the top of the international agenda.

The celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations stressed the fact that our Organization was not attaining the high goals for which it had been conceived in San Francisco. A stalemate had been reached. The world Organization was unable to address the political issues of concern to the majority of the international community, through the General Assembly, the Security Council or the Economic and Social Council, in their specific spheres of competence. The

(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

Organization was relegated to the role of spectator to numerous violations of the principles enshrined in its Charter. Any attempts to deliberate on the pressing political issues related to international peace and security were dismissed as unrealistic or, more surprisingly, as not conducive to betterment of the political situation.

The adoption of the Declaration in those circumstances constituted, therefore, an extraordinary achievement of multilateral diplomacy, and fostered hopes, particularly among developing countries, that the United Nations had made an important step towards the consideration of a new world order of international peace and security, in line with the purposes and principles to which all Member States subscribed when they signed the Charter.

As the then Permanent Representative of Brazil said at the moment of the adoption of resolution 2734 (XXV):

> "we consider that this session of the Assembly is a turning-point in the life of this Organization. So we have a feeling, not of satisfaction with what we have achieved, but of determination to face the tremendous tasks of the future, a future based on the concept of justice, not on the concept of power; a future in which political realism will not be invoked to freeze the aspirations of the smaller nations; a future in which peace among nations will mean something more than a tolerable state of warfare; a future in which disarmament will mean something more than a tolerable arms race; and a future in which economic development for all nations will become a reality, and not only a tolerable state of poverty." (Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, 1932nd meeting, para. 123)

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(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

He also said:

"We consider that the draft Declaration on the strengthening of international security represents a formal repudiation of all current theories of power politics, balance of power and spheres of influence. ... A new right is now recognized and proclaimed by the United Nations: the right to security, which will be the corner-stone of the evolving law of international security." (ibid., para. 120)

After that almost 20 years of painful frustration went by without the hopes that the Declaration gave rise to materializing. Those were years of limited, insufficient achievement in the fields of international peace and security, of persistent recourse to power politics and of an intolerable state characterized by war, the arms race and poverty. The cold war and the adoption of highly selective approaches to the issues of international peace and security smothered the potential for an interdependent world and universal participation in the international decision-making process.

In your introductory remarks, Mr. Chairman, you expressed in a very able and eloquent manner the view that the world has entered a new phase, in which confrontation has been superseded by co-operation. Indeed, we are living at the dawn of an era of renewed hopes for the establishment of a world order based on peace and security, with the full participation of all States. I need not compare the issues which confronted us in 1970 with our present concerns. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar himself stated in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization that

"The period we have entered is Janus-faced." (A/45/1, p. 2)

(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

The positive developments on the international scene underscore the need to address the challenges that still lie ahead. Those challenges cannot be underestimated, as the present crisis in the Middle East clearly stresses. The possibilities of fulfilling our long-held expectations have never before seemed so concrete. But despite major changes in the patterns of East-West relations and in the approach to international security issues, the extent to which the new developments will lead to a shift from policies based on force and power to a new security system based on justice, equality and co-operation remains to be seen.

As the United Nations addresses the challenges of a new world order it is the primary task of the General Assembly, through this Committee, to deliberate on a comprehensive and structured system of international peace and security, ensuring that the concepts of power which in one form or another have prevailed since 1945 will finally become obsolete.

The first question to be addressed concerns the full participation of all States in the consideration of security issues which are of global concern. The tendency towards what has been called "selective multilateralism" in dealing with international security issues runs contrary to the need to build a system devoted to lasting peace. The right of all States to participate in the process of building a new world order is essential for the successful achievement of this goal.

As President Fernando Collor stated in the General Assembly:

> "Peace is multifaceted and should translate at the international level the trends towards democracy, participation and representation. Democratization of the world order is a prerequisite for a peace that is both just and sound, free from any kind of threat. Peace must mean more than the abolition of conflicts, of threats and of the hegemonic preponderance of the most developed or most powerful. Thus, the major international institutions

(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

must reflect the new realities and be capable of accommodating the rapid and fruitful increase in contacts among States and the formation of multiple groupings." (A/45/PV.4, p. 12)

The renewed commitment to the United Nations and to its main organs is certainly to be considered a major achievement of the present time. The strengthening of the role of the United Nations fully coincides with the need to give new meaning to the concepts of peace and security. While strengthening the role of the Security Council and of the Economic and Social Council, as envisaged in the Charter, remains important, we should concentrate our efforts on enhancing and giving increased significance to the General Assembly, as the central and universal political forum of the United Nations system . Only with the full participation of all Member States can the Organization achieve the goal of constructing a new world order. We should therefore earnestly begin to consider ways and means to strengthen and enhance the role of the General Assembly.

Significant advances have undoubtedly been made in the field of disarmament. The recent agreements between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on nuclear disarmament and the agreement on the reduction of conventional forces in Europe are very important but still limited steps towards reducing the levels of armaments in the most armed region of the world. General and complete disarmament under effective international control remains the objective to be attained as the only guarantee that the use of force will be ruled out of international relations.

I have already had the opportunity to present at length in this Committee the Brazilian position on this issue, underlining the need for disarmament negotiations to be given full and general scope. Let me therefore stress just one point: disarmament is a necessary corollary of the principle of non-use of force to which

(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

we have committed ourselves in the Charter of the United Nations. If genuine peace and security cannot be achieved without disarmament, only lasting peace and an effective system of security will allow for the necessary confidence to disarm.

The creation of a just international economic order - responsive to the needs of the developing countries and geared to correcting present imbalances - is also an essential condition for the strengthening of international peace and security. Despite the declared objective of enhancing international co-operation for development, the last decade has witnessed a widening of the gap between developed and developing countries, inhibiting the economic, commercial and technological growth of these countries. A tolerable state of poverty should no longer be considered acceptable; correcting the present imbalances in the economic order is an essential part of the process of building lasting peace and security for all.

But as is the case with disarmament, selective and discriminatory approaches to international co-operation, particularly in the scientific and technological fields, are undeniable indicators of the persistence of the idea that some countries are somehow entitled to enjoy privileges and prerogatives in certain areas, to the detriment of the goals of justice and equity.

In this connection, the debate yesterday in the Assembly regarding the Zone of Peace and Co-operation of the South Atlantic should serve as an example and as guidance. In a non-confrontational world, the issues of peace and co-operation can no longer be seen through the narrow lenses of military or strategic concerns. Recent developments have shown that peace and co-operation are possible only if freed from the strait-jacket of power politics. We should now translate this perception into practical politics everywhere in the world.

(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

As we reach a new turning-point in international relations and in the life of the United Nations, the agenda for the future put forward by my delegation in 1970 is more than ever relevant. It bears a clear resemblance to the agenda put forward this year by the Secretary-General in the introduction to his report, an agenda he qualifies as ambitious but necessary.

(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

The rapid pace of change in the world, and the ambiguities of that change, should not serve as a justification for inaction, for passivity or for limited or partial solutions. On the contrary, we should be ready to confront the new realities and respond, in a comprehensive manner, to the challenges they present. The international community should actively pursue the task of giving shape and meaning to the changes in international relations; it should direct this process of change towards the fulfilment of the purposes and principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations, developing what my delegation, in 1970, already envisaged as the law of international security.

President Collor has stated:

> "The Brazilian Government is prepared to discuss the basic outline of a new international structure that can ensure peace and further co-operation. It would not suffice merely to preserve the current global political and economic arrangements and even less to repeat the past, recent or remote. The highly antiquated concept of power, as the capacity for destruction and as an expression of economic hegemony, should be finally abandoned." (A/45/PV.4, p. 11, para. 4)

A real opportunity to build a new system of peace and security for all is clearly at hand and should not be squandered. As we approach the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations, my delegation is of the firm belief that this Committee can and should fulfil the mandate given it by the General Assembly, the mandate to give substantive consideration to the question of international security. The new international political climate clearly shows that attempts to design a security system based on force and power have failed. We should now explore, in a constructive and imaginative way, the avenues towards justice and equality.

Mr. HAGOSS (Ethiopia): The year which is about to end will be remembered as one in which further progress was made in the ongoing process towards the establishment of an international order shielded against the hazardous winds of the cold-war era. In many parts of the world, painstaking efforts continue to be made to make it possible for the relief felt by the international community following the improvement in East-West relations to be consolidated into a permanent feature of inter-State relations at the global level.

In Europe, a continent which continues to benefit from the emergence of the new international climate now prevailing, new security structures and arrangments have come into existence in legal terms.

In Africa, a chronic colonial problem, one with obvious ramifications for the maintenance of international peace and security, has come to an end with the emergence of Namibia as an independent State. The pernicious system of apartheid is continuing to lose ground.

In Central America, we have witnessed the further consolidation of peace, thanks to the complementary efforts of the countries in the region and of the United Nations.

Statesmen from the South, as well as from the North, are continuing to pursue solutions to the many conflicts which have afflicted various regions of our planet. Indeed, the flurries of diplomatic activity and gatherings which have taken place throughout this year clearly indicate that all countries, irrespective of their size or their economic or military might, can contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security. Needless to say, how sustainable peace is depends on the involvement and collaboration, of all the parties concerned, in the process leading towards that peace.

(Mr. Hagoss, Ethiopia)

Perhaps the most rewarding form of security assurance which has accrued from the change in the international climate has been, and remains, the enhanced role which the United Nations continues to play in the realm of international peace and security. The momentum which the Security Council has gained in recent months has been a source of particular satisfaction to us. Likewise, we are heartened to note the increase in the intensity and frequency with which the good offices of the Secretary-General are being used in global efforts aimed at resolving problems that have adverse effects on international peace and security.

Although trend-setting developments continue to take place in many parts of the world, all is not well in the family of nations. Indeed, as the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq on 2 August 1990 and the subsequent occupation of Kuwait clearly indicate, the temptation to resort to the use of force, for purposes of attaining hegemony, seems to be ever present. As a country which has been a victim of such aggression, Ethiopia considers this abominable act by Iraq to be not only a challenge to the rule of law itself but also an act of adventurism, and that in the most volatile region on our planet. We have therefore supported the appropriate and timely measures which the Security Council has taken in condemning the Iraqi aggression and reasserting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kuwait.

As we have pointed out on a number of occasions, peace is indivisible. If peace is to prevail globally, it is imperative that the non-military factors likely to have a bearing on the maintenance of international peace and security should receive due recognition. If peace is to prevail in all parts of the world, it is essential that we should take the most comprehensive view possible of how it is to be realized.

(Mr. Hagoss, Ethiopia)

Indeed, enduring peace cannot be attained on a planet characterized by imbalances in many spheres of human existence. The lopsided distribution of power and resources in the world continues to be an impediment to the genuine pursuit of peace. It must be recognized that even the best-intentioned efforts for world peace and security are likely to be only partially effective unless due consideration is given to the social and economic problems faced by the overwhelming majority of mankind. We therefore welcome the proposal put forward by the Soviet Union regarding the need to adopt a comprehensive approach to international peace and security.

Attaining peace and security is a matter to which my country attaches the highest importance. It is our considered view that confidence-building measures adopted by members of any one region are likely to be of major significance in consolidating peace at the global level; by availing themselves of the opportunities created by the Inter-Governmental Authority on Drought and Development, whose membership comprises the Governments of Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, the Sudan and Uganda, my country and its immediate neighbours had taken the first step towards a sustainable peace and the security, development and stability of the subregion.

It is our earnest hope that the countries in the subregion will continue to utilize this machinery to pursue solutions to the many problems facing them and to enhance a spirit of dialogue and co-operation in matters of mutual concern. For its part, Ethiopia will continue to support this regional initiative; in the same vein, my Government will continue to pursue its declared policy of resolving the internal conflicts in Ethiopia by peaceful means.

(Mr. Hagoss, Ethiopia)

As you, Mr. Chairman, and many speakers have pointed out, the international milieu has never been so conducive to the pursuit of peace and justice and, indeed, to the advancement of the very causes the United Nations was intended to promote. As we move into a new era in which States are expected to conform to universally defined codes of conduct, the attempt by some to defy accepted norms of legality is likely to be a challenge to the resolve of the international community in upholding commonly shared principles. As a community of nations we have no choice but to face this challenge squarely.

Mr. TAEB (Afghanistan): The present debate of this Committee on agenda items relating to international security is taking place at a time when the international community has moved forward in this regard through the results of the Paris Summit Conference of 34 nations. The signing of the Agreement on the Reduction of Conventional Armed Forces in Europe between the two major military alliances has marked an outstanding event in the modern history of inter-State relations. We welcome it as a significant step in the right direction.

Since the adoption of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, two decades, full of painful events, have elapsed. The principles and ideas of the Declaration, based on the provisions of the United Nations Charter, have proved their validity and need special attention in relations among States. The Declaration in part says:

> "... the promotion of international co-operation, including regional, subregional and bilateral co-operation among States, in keeping with the provisions of the Charter and based on the principles of equal rights and strict respect for the sovereignty and independence of States, can contribute to the strengthening of international security." (resolution 2734 (XXV), para. 25)

(Mr. Taeb, Afghanistan)

International experience, especially since the establishment of the United Nations, would lead us to the conclusion that co-operation, mutual understanding and dialogue among nations and a peaceful approach to the settlement of international disputes are the best ways to preserve civilization on the globe. No one can deny that the rapid transformation of world relations in a short and unpredictable period comes from a non-confrontational approach and mutual understanding. Indeed, this is an extraordinary lesson of history from which every nation should draw wise and prudent conclusions.

In these new circumstances the role of the United Nations should be further strengthened to enable it to meet its main responsibility, that is, to maintain international peace and security. My Government highly appreciates the work of the United Nations in this field and hopes that joint and constructive endeavours of Member States carried out in a co-operative spirit will greatly contribute to enhancing the role of this body with the objective of building a secure world in which all nations, irrespective of their size, geographical location, level of development or political, economic and social system, can live in peace based on justice. We think that the present international atmosphere could and should provide a real opportunity for making the United Nations work in accordance with the Charter.

We are living in an interdependent world. Hence the question of international security should be considered in such a framework. Existing global problems and issues such as disarmament, development and environment are closely linked to the problem of international security, though there are also many other factors in this respect that should not be ignored.

(Mr. Taeb, Afghanistan)

We recognize that various aspects of international security continue to be discussed at different United Nations bodies and at multilateral, regional, subregional and bilateral levels elsewhere. We encourage all efforts in this respect, but at the same time we stress the view that the United Nations must play the central role for these purposes.

An international security system must be comprehensive and cover all its aspects. It should aim at nothing less than, in the words of the Charter, saving "succeeding generations from the scourge of war". My delegation strongly believes that the security of one can only be ensured through the security of all. Genuine disarmament and especially nuclear disarmament measures are the main factors in the strengthening of international peace and security. We are of the opinion that any step taken in the disarmament sphere, particularly in reducing military expenditures, should promote development. The financial, natural and technological resources now devoted to military purposes should be reallocated to eradicate hunger, poverty and disease, which consume the lives of hundreds of thousands every year in the developing countries.

The improvement of East-West relations has made a great impact on the world situation as a whole. None the less, with regard to regional conflicts, tensions remain in South Africa, the Middle East, the Persian Gulf and South-East and South-West Asia. In all these hot-bed areas, millions of people are suffering from destructive armed conflicts which claim many lives every day. We think that the international community should address all those problems on an equal level, taking into account their specific situations.

Unfortunately, in our region the imposed war still continues, claiming the lives of innocent Afghans almost every day. The signing of the Geneva Agreements in April 1988 was aimed at putting an end to the conflict in our region through

(Mr. Taeb, Afghanistan)

political means. The Geneva Agreements established the legal basis for removing the decade-long armed conflict situation in our region. The Geneva Agreements would have greatly contributed to the strengthening of the security of the entire region if they had been fully implemented by all who are parties to them. To save the time of the Committee, I would only draw the attention of the representatives to documents A/45/165, A/45/201, A/45/318 and A/45/600, which give a picture of the development of the events and the existing tensions in our region.

The Government of the Republic of Afghanistan, for its part, has made a number of proposals covering various aspects of the problems relating to Afghanistan, to settle the questions through negotiations and dialogue. We hope that the concerned Governments will consider them with responsibility and demonstrate their goodwill for constructive co-operation in the region. The time of confrontation, especially military confrontation, has passed. It does not work any more. Wisdom must prevail.

With regard to agenda item 68, "Strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean region", the principal position of my delegation is consistent. We attach great importance to the Mediterranean region and its important geographical location.

(Mr. Taeb, Afghanistan)

We fully support the transformation of that region into a region of peace, security and co-operation. We are of the opinion that all non-regional military forces now stationed in the region must be withdrawn. My delegation supports the constructive role in the Mediterranean process played by the foreign ministers of the non-aligned countries of that region, whose third meeting took place in June 1990 at Algiers, with a view to facilitating the search for a solution to the problems that still exist there.

The CHAIRMAN: I now call on the Secretary of the Committee, who wishes to make some announcements.

Mr. KHERADI (Secretary of the Committee): I should like to inform the Committee that the following countries have become sponsors of the following draft resolutions: A/C.1/45/L.63/Rev.2: Burkina Faso; A/C.1/45/L.65: Morocco.

AGENDA ITEM 67 (continued)

QUESTION OF ANTARCTICA: CONSIDERATION OF AND ACTION ON DRAFT RESOLUTIONS

The CHAIRMAN: In accordance with my announcement yesterday, the Committee will now proceed to take a decision on draft resolutions submitted under agenda item 67 - namely, draft resolutions A/C.1/45/L.63/Rev.2 and A/C.1/45/L.64/Rev.1.

I shall first call on the representative of Tunisia, who will introduce draft resolution A/C.1/45/L.64/Rev.1., on behalf of States Members of the United Nations that are members of the Group of African States.

Mr. JERANDI (Tunisia)(interpretation from French): On behalf of the Group of African States I have the honour to introduce to the Committee draft resolution A/C.1/45/L.64/Rev.1., on the question of Antarctica. The Committee will recall that a draft resolution with the same title was introduced last year and adopted by the General Assembly as resolution 44/124 A.

(Mr. Jerandi, Tunisia)

This year the Group of African States is once again submitting a draft resolution on this subject because of South Africa's continued participation in meetings of the Antarctic Treaty Consultative Parties, in spite of the resolutions adopted in 1987, 1988 and 1989. We are therefore submitting a draft resolution again this year as a further appeal to the Antarctic Treaty Consultative Parties urgently to take the necessary measures to put an end to South Africa's participation in their meetings.

The Committee will note that the fourth and fifth preambular paragraphs refer to the resolution adopted by the Organization of African Unity in July 1989 and the resolution adopted by the Heads of State or Government of the non-aligned countries in September 1989. Those resolutions again confirm the position taken by those two bodies on this question.

Operative paragraph 1 is justified, of course, by the fact that the Antarctic Treaty Consultative Parties have not taken the concrete measures set forth in paragraph 2 - I emphasize: paragraph 2 - of resolution 44/124 A adopted at last year's session of the General Assembly, in which the Assembly appealed to the Consultative Parties to take urgent measures to exclude South Africa from participation in their meetings at the earliest possible date.

I should like to draw attention to an omission in operative paragraph 3, of draft resolution A/C.1/45/L.64/Rev. 1. As corrected, the paragraph should read as follows:

"Appeals once again to the Antarctic Treaty Consultative Parties to take urgent measures to exclude the racist apartheid régime of South Africa from participation in the meetings of the Consultative Parties at the earliest possible date, and invites them to inform the Secretary-General of the measures taken regarding the provisions of the present resolution".

(Mr. Jerandi, Tunisia)

In the draft resolution I am introducing today the Group of African States rightly insists that South Africa's participation in the meetings of the Antarctic Treaty Consultative Parties end. Although the situation in South Africa would appear to be evolving to a degree, there are still manifestations of the policy of apartheid in ideas and practices, and that is an affront to morality. The black majority of South Africa is purely and simply excluded from the great benefits and advantages the international community might derive from Antarctica. The African countries will not stop calling for South Africa's immediate exclusion from the meetings of the Antarctic Treaty Consultative Parties until a democratic and non-racial society is established in that country.

The CHAIRMAN: Before the Committee proceeds to take a decision on the draft resolutions, I shall call on delegations that wish to make statements other than statements in explanation of vote.

Mr. AL-BATASHI (Oman) (interpretation from Arabic): Once again my delegation notes with regret that the list of speakers on the present item, the question of Antarctica, which has been on the Committee's agenda since 1983, does not include any of the Antarctic Treaty Consultative Parties. My delegation interprets this boycotting of and non-participation in the Committee's discussion as a sign of the Consultative Parties' confusion and uncertainty in refuting the arguments and facing up to the legitimate questioning of the international community concerning the efficacy of the Antarctic Treaty system and its ability to make a contribution to international peace and security, the environment, the world economy, scientific research and meteorology and to respond to the repeated calls by the General Assembly which echo the international community's concern at the exceptional significance of the Antarctic continent for the survival of mankind in light of the continued exclusivity of the Treaty system which remains closed to the international community.

(Mr. Al-Batashi, Oman)

Owing to the Antarctic Treaty's exclusivity, that system is unable to furnish adequate proof of the efficacy of the safeguards in the Treaty system.

For our part, we question the efficacy of that system, which was adopted in 1959 by a small group of economically and scientifically advanced States, in ensuring that the Antarctic Continent would be used solely for peaceful purposes and not transformed in some future date into an arena of or cause for international controversy, given the competition among the great Powers to mine and exploit the continent's still-untapped natural resources. The prospecting and mining operations carried out in the region have had an influence on the entire ecosystem of the planet.

(Mr. Al-Batashi, Oman)

Those operations disrupt the harmony and pattern of climatic cycles, damage the flora and fauna and destroy the human environment. They cause the depletion of the ozone layer and lead to the global-warming known as the greenhouse effect.

My delegation continues to believe that, in the light of the international community's broad recognition of Antarctica's importance, we must view that continent as the common heritage of mankind; it should be administered and used internationally in consonance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, in a manner that would serve and promote international co-operation and the interests of all mankind. By adopting that approach, we would put an end to claims of sovereignty, contribute to meeting the basic needs of the overwhelming majority of States concerning the democratization of decision-making in the framework of the Treaty.

Moreover, organizing broader scientific and research activities and projects of scientific co-operation can play an important role in ensuring the use of the continent for peaceful purposes through the establishment of multilateral research stations and through the availability of information on all aspects of the question of Antarctica.

In that connection, my delegation welcomes the courageous stand by some of the Consultative Parties to the Treaty in refusing to ratify the treaty on Antarctic mining. We view this as ample proof of the growing awareness in those countries and the strong impact of public opinion and awareness of the risks to the world environment posed by prospecting and pollution. It also reflects a recognition by those countries that there is an urgent need to study the Treaty once again in order to respond to the concerns of the international community.

(Mr. Al-Batashi, Oman)

On the other hand, we as members of an international community which lives in the new age of détente, cannot but marvel at the Consultative Parties' failure to exclude the South African régime from membership, and the continued participation by that régime in meetings of the Consultative Parties. This has enabled South Africa to benefit from the technical information available to the Consultative Parties but thus far not available to the international community at large.

My delegation joins the other sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/45/L.63/Rev.2 in appealing to the Consultative Parties to respond to the calls of the international community to declare Antarctica the common heritage of mankind, to distribute its natural resources in the interest of all mankind, to stop creating new environmental problems - the last thing the world now needs - and to agree to co-operate with the Secretary-General to enable him to draw up the required comprehensive report on the environmental status of Antarctica and its implications for the rest of the planet and outer space, and to permit the United Nations to be a repository of such information in the interests of all mankind.

Mr. WILENSKI (Australia): I have asked to speak again, before the vote, in order to make a statement on behalf of States parties to the Antarctic Treaty.

The Antarctic Treaty parties deeply regret that this is the sixth session of the General Assembly at which it has not proved possible to arrive at consensus on the issue of Antarctica. The continued failure to achieve consensus on the item on Antarctica is a matter of concern for the General Assembly. Consensus is the only realistic basis for dealing with the item in the General Assembly.

The Treaty parties continue to believe that consideration of Antarctica by the General Assembly should proceed only on the basis of consensus. This approach is based on full regard for the integrity of the Antarctic Treaty and the continuing successful operation of the Treaty system, which is beneficial also for non-parties

(Mr. Wilenski, Australia)

to the Treaty. The Treaty parties regret therefore that the proponents of draft resolution A/C.1/45/L.63/Rev.2 remain unwilling to take the necessary steps to recognize this and achieve consensus.

Treaty parties, in order to leave no doubt of their view that the question of Antarctica should continue to be handled only on the basis of consensus, will not participate in the voting on draft resolution A/C.1/45/L.63/Rev.2. On draft resolution A/C.1/45/L.64/Rev.1, Treaty parties will reflect their views in ways that do not prejudice their position on the integrity of the Antarctic Treaty. Most will not participate.

I request a roll-call vote on each of the draft resolutions.

As I have previously indicated, a number of Member States will indicate that they are not participating in the voting. I ask that the records of the Committee indicate explicitly that those Members chose not to participate in the voting.

Mr. KAPAMBWE (Zambia): My delegation has asked to speak in order to associate itself with the statements of the representatives of Malaysia and Tunisia in regard to draft resolutions A/C.1/45/L.63/Rev.2 and A/C.1/45/L.64/Rev.1, as orally amended, which they introduced on 21 and 28 November 1990 respectively under agenda item 67, "Question of Antarctica". My delegation is proud to be among the sponsors of both draft resolutions.

My delegation is optimistic that these draft resolutions will not suffer the fate of previous resolutions on this subject, which were mired in the unproductive East-West politics of yesteryear.

With regard to draft resolution A/C.1/45/L.63/Rev.2, we are particularly pleased that the draft resolution seeks to give concrete expression to the declaration of Antarctica as the common heritage of mankind by recommending the

(Mr. Kapambwe, Zambia)

setting up of a United Nations research facility in Antarctica. That action-oriented approach is one which we hope will characterize the United Nations; this would enable it to meet to the full all the potentials given it by its founding fathers.

The recommendation of draft resolution A/C.1/45/L.63/Rev.2 to establish a United Nations research facility in Antarctica should, therefore, receive the unqualified support of the entire membership of the United Nations, in whose interest it is proposed the facility be established. The benefits that will accrue to all Member States from the United Nations research facility cannot be over-emphasized.

My delegation also hopes that the generally positive international political atmosphere in which this General Assembly session is taking place will enable the Antarctic Treaty Consultative Parties to align themselves with the majority view in the United Nations with respect to the membership and scope of the Antarctic Treaty. In particular, my delegation appeals to the Consultative Parties to expedite the implementation of the measures requested of them by the present draft resolution and by previous resolutions on Antarctica.

(Mr. Kapambwe, Zambia)

With regard to draft resolution A/C.1/45/L.64/Rev.1, as orally amended, my delegation wishes to underscore its disappointment that, long after the racist South African régime was suspended from membership of the General Assembly because of its apartheid policies, it has continued to be a member of the Antarctic Treaty Consultative Parties and to participate in their meetings, including the ongoing Santiago special session. We find it difficult to understand the basis on which the Antarctic Treaty Consultative Parties find the participation of the United Nations Secretary-General in their meetings unacceptable while seating the delegation of South Africa. The Secretary-General is, moreover, the personification of the United Nations, under whose jurisdiction should fall the management of all those environments designated as common heritages of mankind, of which Antarctica is one.

Some may wonder why the countries of southern Africa should continue to insist on the isolation of South Africa when the current Government in South Africa has taken some measures, such as the unbanning of political parties, the release of some political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela, and the lifting of the state of emergency. These measures are indeed most welcome.

But apartheid did not begin when political parties were banned, nor did it begin when Nelson Mandela was imprisoned; and it most certainly did not begin when the state of emergency was imposed in South Africa. All these events were mere consequences undertaken in the defence of apartheid and did not, either singly or collectively, define apartheid. That these measures are no longer in force is therefore not equivalent to the end of apartheid.

We have been asked to be realistic, to drop the rhetoric of a bygone era and to come up with a language of the 1990s in regard to South Africa. It is a great pity that some view apartheid as a matter of mere rhetoric. Apartheid is more serious than that. Millions of our people have lost their lives at the hands of

(Mr. Kapambwe, Zambia)

apartheid. Talk about the tens of thousands of amputees in Angola; talk about the hundreds of thousands of starving refugees in the region; talk about the thousands of orphaned children and the widowed; talk about the economic dislocation of the countries of southern Africa - and in all these tragedies apartheid has been the root cause. To us in the region, apartheid is a reality - an everyday reality.

The Committee may wish to know that only two days ago, on Monday, 26 November, at around 1 a.m., a bomb exploded in Lusaka, the capital city of Zambia, at the house of a cadre of the African National Congress. Luckily, no one was killed.

Yes, we would be more than willing to bring our rhetoric on South Africa up to date with the language of the 1990s, except that we do not know how the apartheid of the 1990s differs from the apartheid of the 1940s, the 1950s, the 1960s, the 1970s or the 1980s.

Mr. DZVAIRO (Zimbabwe): The delegation of Zimbabwe associates itself with all previous speakers who have expressed concern at the status quo in Antarctica and the continuing polarized positions on the part of the Antarctic Treaty Consultative Parties and the rest of the international community.

The environmental aspects of Antarctica have been elaborately and exhaustively highlighted by many speakers. Their importance in view of the implications for all of mankind cannot be overemphasized; and these aspects must be urgently addressed before it is too late. However, my delegation fears that in addressing the very pertinent questions of Antarctica and the environment we may well fail adequately to address the burning question of the management of the continent. The implications of the management of Antarctica and their potentially explosive effects on international peace and security warrant closer attention in this age of much-touted improvement in the climate of international relations.

(Mr. Dzvairo, Zimbabwe)

Thus far, thankfully, Antarctica has remained a nuclear-weapon-free zone. However, in the absence of internationally laid down and agreed principles relating to territorial claims and the legal status of the continent, the possibility of territorial conflicts remains an underlying if ignored threat. We shudder to think of what would happen in the event of territorial conflicts between those Parties with research stations on Antarctica, especially in view of the fact that many of these stations have military personnel carrying out experiments in what we understand to be a civilian capacity.

My delegation welcomes the responsible stance taken by some Treaty Parties in calling for a world park to be established on Antarctica, and sincerely hopes that this is the beginning of genuine dialogue on the future of that crucial part of our common world. In urging members of the Committee, especially those who are also Treaty Parties, to facilitate this dialogue, my delegation hopes that they will pay closer attention to draft resolutions A/C.1/45/L.63/Rev.2 and A/C.1/45/L.64/Rev.1 and give them the support they deserve in the interests of the entire international community.

Mrs. MULAMULA (United Republic of Tanzania): First, my delegation wishes to associate itself with the statement made by the representative of Tunisia on behalf of the African Group. My delegation wishes, however, to make a brief statement before the Committee takes action on the two draft resolutions regarding the question of Antarctica.

It has now been eight consecutive years that the General Assembly has been considering the question of Antarctica, a question which over the years has assumed great importance in the maintenance of international peace and security and the protection of our environment. The successive debates on the question in our Committee have undoubtedly galvanized world public opinion in favour of preserving Antarctica for the benefit of all mankind, an opinion which the Treaty Parties

(Mrs. Mulamula, United Republic of Tanzania)

can certainly no longer ignore. As one writer on the environment so succinctly put it:

"The white continent's affairs may once have been run by an exclusive club of diplomats and scientists, but they are now accountable to an increasingly wider audience".

The emerging trends in international relations that many have welcomed during our deliberations at this session have unfortunately not influenced positively the consideration of the question of Antarctica, which is equally important in the bid to foster international co-operation and understanding, and we are still witnessing the silent conspiracy of the Antarctic Treaty Parties. The advocates of transparency, glasnost and objective information on military matters as necessary measures for building confidence among countries and regions of the world have not seen fit to extend such principles to the management of Antarctica. The Antarctic Treaty system remains a closed shop. We all have the right to know what is going on in that continent, which represents a common heritage of mankind and the mismanagement of which would have a bearing on our future existence on the planet.

While we do not dispute the reports that the Antarctic Treaty Parties have kept Antarctica free of the arms race, it is incomprehensible on the other hand that the so-called peaceful scientific research stations are being manned by military personnel.

(Mrs. Mulamula, United Republic of Tanzania)

This is deplorable. It is the hope of my delegation that the study requested in draft resolution A/C.1/45/L.63/Rev.2 will pave the way for the establishment of a United Nations scientific monitoring station.

I wish now to turn to an issue that has always troubled my delegation, that is, the question of the continued participation of South Africa in the closed and secret meetings of the Antarctic Treaty Consultative Parties. That South Africa, which represents an outlawed régime and a system that has been condemned as a crime against humanity, should be accorded consultative status, which allows South Africa to participate in decision-making as a civilized nation is hard for many of us to comprehend. As a system, apartheid negates all the principles of international law which the parties to the Antarctic Treaty purport to uphold.

It is therefore the hope of my delegation that reason will prevail and that the Antarctic Treaty Parties will take the necessary measures to exclude that régime until such time as a free and democratic system has been established in South Africa.

The CHAIRMAN: The Committee will now proceed to take a decision on revised draft resolution A/C.1/45/L.63/Rev.2, entitled "Question of Antarctica". This draft resolution was introduced by the representative of Malaysia at the 43rd meeting of the First Committee on 21 November 1990. An oral statement will be made with respect to its programme budget implications.

I now call on the Secretary of the Committee to read out the list of sponsors and the oral statement.

Mr. KHERADI (Secretary of the Committee): Draft resolution A/C.1/45/L.63/Rev.2 has the following sponsors: Antigua and Barbuda, Bangladesh, Brunei Darussalam, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Comoros, Ghana, Indonesia, Kenya, Lesotho, Malaysia, Mexico, Nepal, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Philippines, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Senegal, Sri Lanka, the Sudan, Tunisia, Uganda, the United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

I would also like to make the following statement on behalf of the Secretary-General with regard to draft resolution A/C.1/45/L.63/Rev.2, entitled "Question of Antarctica".

"By the terms of operative paragraph 5 of that draft resolution, the General Assembly would request the Secretary-General to undertake a comprehensive study with the help of relevant United Nations programmes and specialized agencies such as the World Meteorological Organization and the United Nations Environment Programme, using available data and resources, on the establishment of a United Nations-sponsored station in Antarctica with a view to promoting co-ordinated international co-operation in scientific research for the benefit of mankind, particularly the importance of Antarctica to the global environment and ecosystems, as well as to act as an early-warning system on climate change and accidents, and submit a report thereon to the General Assembly at its forty-sixth session.

"By the terms of operative paragraph 7 of the draft resolution, the Assembly would also request the Secretary-General to submit a report, using available data and resources, on the state of the environment in Antarctica and its impact on the global system to the General Assembly at its forty-sixth session.

(Mr. Kheradi)

"In carrying out these tasks, the Secretary-General would request and collate such information as might be provided by Member States, the relevant specialized agencies, programmes, organs, organizations and bodies of the United Nations system, including but not limited to the World Meteorological Organization and the United Nations Environment Programme and other relevant international organizations.

"In programme element 2.3 - Regional Security Co-operation and Zones of Peace - under section 2A.B - Department of Political and Security Council Affairs - of the programme budget for the biennium 1990-1991, provision is made, inter alia, for substantive servicing of the First Committee of the General Assembly in relation to Antarctica and for reports of the Secretary-General to the General Assembly. Accordingly, it is envisaged that there would be no programme budget implications for the biennium 1990-1991."

The CHAIRMAN: A roll-call vote has been requested on revised draft resolution A/C.1/45/L.63/Rev.2.

A roll-call vote was taken.

Peru, having been drawn by lot by the Chairman, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Antigua and Barbuda, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brunei Darussalam, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cyprus, Djibouti, Egypt, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Myanmar, Namibia, Nepal, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Paraguay, Philippines, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Vanuatu, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: None

Abstaining: Fiji, Ireland, Liechtenstein, Malta, Portugal, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Venezuela

Revised draft resolution A/C.1/45/L.63/Rev.2 was adopted by 75 votes to none, with 8 abstentions.*

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* During the course of the roll-call vote the following members announced that they were not participating: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ecuador, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, India, Israel, Italy, Japan, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Poland, Romania, Solomon Islands, Spain, Sweden, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Viet Nam.

The CHAIRMAN: The Committee will now take a decision on draft resolution A/C.1/45/L.64/Rev.1 as orally revised.

I call on the Secretary of the Committee.

Mr. KHERADI (Secretary of the Committee): Draft resolution A/C.1/45/L.64/Rev.1 was submitted and introduced by Tunisia on behalf of States Members of the United Nations that are members of the Group of African States.

The CHAIRMAN: A roll-call vote has been requested.

A roll-call vote was taken.

The United States of America, having been drawn by lot by the Chairman, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Antigua and Barbuda, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, China, Colombia, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Cyprus, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Fiji, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, India, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Myanmar, Namibia, Nepal, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Against: None

Abstaining: Ireland, Liechtenstein, Malta, Mauritius, Portugal, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic

Draft resolution A/C.1/45/L.64/Rev.1 was adopted by 84 votes to none, with 6 abstentions.*

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* During the course of the roll-call vote the following members announced that they were not participating: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Chile, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Papua New Guinea, Poland, Romania, Solomon Islands, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay.

The CHAIRMAN: I call now on representatives who wish to explain their votes.

Mr. SADER (Uruguay) (interpretation from Spanish): Once again, my delegation feels compelled to explain why it did not participate in the voting on draft resolution A/C.1/45/L.64/Rev.1, which the Committee has just adopted, regarding the participation of South Africa in the meetings of the Antarctic Treaty Consultative Parties.

Ever since the question was first raised in the Committee my delegation has maintained a consistent position on what, in its view, are the areas of application of two distinct international legal instruments. We believe that the draft resolution does not apply to the Washington Treaty, which is governed by its own norms, in keeping with international law. That is the simple reason why we did not participate in the voting.

Similarly, I repeat that our position should not be interpreted as meaning that Uruguay has in any way altered its policy of total condemnation of the system of apartheid.

Mr. BELLINA (Peru) (interpretation from Spanish): The Peruvian delegation voted in favour of draft resolution A/C.1/45/L/64/Rev.1, as orally amended, which was introduced by the delegation of Tunisia on behalf of the Members of the United Nations that are members of the Group of African States. This was because the Government of Peru believes that it will help to strengthen the international community's appeal to the Government of South Africa to end the unjust and inhuman system of apartheid. Thus, our vote in favour in no way implies that we are questioning the principles of international law applicable to obligations and duties deriving from international treaties.

The CHAIRMAN: The Committee has completed its consideration of agenda item 67.

The meeting rose at 5.35 p.m.

UNITED NATIONS

General Assembly

FORTY-FIFTH SESSION

Official Records

FIRST COMMITTEE
48th meeting
held on
Thursday, 29 November 1990
at 10 a.m.
New York

VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 48th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. RANA (Nepal)

CONTENTS

- General debate, consideration of and action on draft resolutions on international security agenda items (continued)

- Report of the Economic and Social Council (chapter III, section D)

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Distr. GENERAL
A/C.1/45/PV.48
7 December 1990
ENGLISH

90-63304 3490V (E)

The meeting was called to order at 10.30 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 68, 69, 70 AND 12 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE, CONSIDERATION OF AND ACTION ON DRAFT RESOLUTIONS ON INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AGENDA ITEMS

REPORT OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL (chapter III, section D)

Mr. KAPAMBWE (Zambia): I have asked to speak to make a statement on the question of international security on behalf of the following delegations members of the front-line States, namely, Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Namibia, Tanzania, Zimbabwe and my own delegation, Zambia.

The importance of the issue of international security has been stressed by the various delegations which have spoken before me. For us in the region of southern Africa this issue has particular significance, for in no other region does there exist a régime that practises a policy which the whole international community, through this very Organization, has condemned as a crime against humanity.

The violence of apartheid and its adverse consequences on both the people of South Africa and the countries in the region are well documented. I shall, therefore, not endeavour to enumerate them here. One thing for sure is that the devastating effects of apartheid in the region will continue long after the demise of apartheid.

As long as apartheid continues to exist the region and peoples of southern Africa will never enjoy peace and security. Indeed, no country in southern Africa has enjoyed total security since its independence: apartheid has seen to that. It goes without saying, therefore, that only the total dismantling of apartheid will remove the threat not only to the peace and security of the southern African region but also to international peace and security as a whole. And, because the raison d'être of the United Nations is the maintenance of international peace and security, the United Nations is not only inexorably linked to the process of dismantling apartheid, but its involvement should be seen to be active.

(Mr. Kapambwe, Zambia)

In these days of momentous international changes we may be tempted to become overly optimistic about the prospects for change in South Africa. In the process we may forget just why and how far we have come to reach the present stage. Whatever has happened in South Africa could not have taken place without the international pressure exerted on the Government of South Africa. The people of South Africa on whose behalf the United Nations has mounted the campaign to isolate South Africa have requested us to maintain the pressure. No less a person than Mr. Nelson Mandela himself made the appeal for keeping the pressure on South Africa when he spoke in the Assembly Hall in June this year.

Until the South African Government has set in motion an irreversible process for dismantling apartheid, there will be no compelling reason why the United Nations should pass the not guilty verdict on the régime. To do so would be to serve interests other than those of the South African people.

Another aspect to which the front-line States would like to see more attention paid is the matter of non-military threats to international peace and security. While the front-line States believe that general and complete disarmament occupies priority importance in the achievement of international peace and security, they are convinced as well that poverty will emerge as the biggest non-military threat to this security.

The signs are already too many and too obvious for us to ignore. We cannot fully understand crime, disease, drug abuse and other social vices, nor can we find effective remedies for them outside the context of the eradication of poverty and underdevelopment. In this regard the United Nations should take a leading role in seeking effective solutions to the debt problem and the fair management of the international economic system. For their part the developed countries should realize that, if the economies of the developing countries remain depressed through the continuation of unfair trade practices, the growth possibilities of the

(Mr. Kapambwe, Zambia)

economies of the developed countries will also be limited. But, even more important, the economic stagnation of the developing countries is a time bomb that will explode sooner rather than later and engulf the developed countries as well.

Mr. SOUVANNAVONG (Lao People's Democratic Republic): As this is the first time I have spoken in the First Committee, allow me to congratulate you, Sir, on your unanimous election. May I also offer my congratulations to the other members of the Bureau on their election.

Almost 20 years ago the United Nations adopted resolution 2734 (XXV) of 16 December 1970 - the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security - on the initiative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. That Declaration is considered to have been of paramount significance in creating an atmosphere of trust and co-operation that would make possible the peaceful solution of any problems that might arise in international relations.

In recent years we have witnessed profound changes in the world situation. The cold war has come to an end. Our world is moving towards detente and co-operation, so that conflicts between States in many fields can be resolved and dealt with by peaceful means. The international situation is moving from confrontation to dialogue, and from tension to relaxation of tension. The rapprochement and co-operation between the two super-Powers, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America, in the sphere of disarmament have created favourable conditions for easing tensions in international relations and have taken another step towards the strengthening of international security. In Paris recently President Gorbachev and President Bush, as well as the leaders of 20 other countries from both the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Warsaw Treaty organization, signed the most ambitious arms control treaty in history, pledging themselves to destroy tens of thousands of tanks, howitzers and other non-nuclear weapons.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America have reached agreement in principle on the partial reduction of strategic nuclear weapons, and on stopping production of chemical weapons. A reduction of conventional forces in Europe has also been brought about through negotiation.

(Mr. Souvannavong, Lao People's Democratic Republic)

Although the world situation has changed positively, many conflicts and problems in various regions remain and are far from being solved. Worse still, a new and highly explosive crisis has arisen in the Persian Gulf and may ignite a disastrous war in the region at any moment; and the danger of war is increasing rapidly. Huge stockpiling and the military build-up, modernization of weapons, and continuing nuclear weapons tests and research for military purposes are a threat to all of us. Furthermore, overseas military bases still have not been dismantled, and continue to threaten the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States. In the economic field, the gap between the developed and the developing countries is widening, and for many of the latter the heavy burden of foreign debt is hampering their growth and development; time is needed to solve these problems.

As a country of the Asia Pacific region, the Lao People's Democratic Republic attaches great importance to the security of the region. Together with the non-aligned countries and other peace- and justice-loving forces throughout the world, we have spared no effort to achieve peace and disarmament. We believe that the positive changes in international relations and the new trends in Europe will be reflected in the Asia Pacific region as well.

We welcome the efforts made by various parties concerned - including the five permanent members of the Security Council, the co-Chairmen and other participants in the Paris Conference, as well as the Secretary-General and his colleagues - to resolve the Cambodian conflict. The question is one of the main focuses of international public opinion, especially in South-East Asia. We are of the view that the problem can be solved only by the Cambodians themselves, who should make their contribution to the process through the Supreme National Council on the basis of the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and inviolability, neutrality and national unity of Cambodia.

(Mr. Souvannavong, Lao People's Democratic Republic)

Nowadays in our world political confrontation is being superseded by partnership and co-operation. Dialogue on a wide range of issues is becoming a new element of peaceful coexistence. The positive changes in political relations should be translated into better economic relations, particularly in bridging the economic gap between the developed and the developing countries. In that spirit, all countries have to intensify their contacts and dialogue, proceed to an exchange of views, assist one another and co-operate with one another in different fields on the basis of respect for the principles of peaceful coexistence, thereby responding to the earnest aspiration of peoples the world over to the promotion of global and durable peace and prosperity for all.

Peace, security and development are related to each other. The concepts of our politics today are co-operation, interaction and partnership in facing the global challenges of combating economic backwardness, poverty and social inequality. At the same time, we cannot solve these problems without stability in the international climate. Therefore, it is necessary to co-operate and establish, step by step, new international orders, both political and economic, thereby strengthening world peace, security and development.

We are happy to note that in recent years the United Nations has continued to play its central role in maintaining world peace and security, and in solving the many problems facing us, and we expect to see the role of our world Organization further strengthened.

I should like to reiterate the commitment of the Government of the Lao People's Democratic Republic to the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations and to the principles of the many declarations adopted by our Organization for the maintenance of world peace and security and the promotion of co-operation for a better life for us all.

Mr. AWAD (Syrian Arab Republic) (interpretation from Arabic): The cold war has come to an end with its military alliances. In the wake of the historic Paris Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, the world turned over the last leaf of the cold war, of disputes and wars. The historic document of the Paris Conference gives us cause for hope that Europe is on the threshold of a new era of co-operation, reconciliation and, security complementarity and the non-use of force in resolving disputes.

A terrible period of division and confrontation has come to an end and a new era of democracy and respect for human rights, especially the right to a safe settled existence and the right to democracy has dawned.

However, what has taken place in Europe is not sufficient in itself because this transformation should embrace the whole world. Otherwise, stability will continue to be a far-fetched dream.

The world continues to suffer from the enormous gap between rich and poor countries. In addition, a great many countries of the south continue to suffer under occupation, domination and racial discrimination. We should like to see international détente embrace all the regions of the globe and thus strengthen the primacy of law and respect for the obligations arising from the United Nations Charter and United Nations resolutions.

In the Middle East, Israel continues to consider force as the essential mainstay of its expansionist policy. It continues to occupy the West Bank, Gaza, the Golan Heights and the south of the Lebanon. It continues to commit acts of aggression, annexation and colonization and to tighten its grip on the occupied Arab territories. It continues to threaten to wage yet more wars on the Arab peoples of the region regardless of the fact that the principle of the inadmissibility of acquisition of territory by force is a fundamental principle of international law and of the United Nations Charter. None the less, Israel

(Mr. Awad, Syrian Arab Republic)

continues to violate that principle. It rejects any just and comprehensive solution to the Middle East problem through an international peace conference under the aegis of the United Nations. It continues to do this, despite the intifadah of the heroic Arab Palestinian people which has demonstrated to the whole world that the occupation will not last and that the will of the people will triumph in the end.

My country's delegation considers that the United Nations is the appropriate forum and the appropriate instrument which should be trusted by the international community to produce appropriate solutions for all issues concerning international peace and security. Article 1 of the Charter very clearly stipulates that the maintenance of international peace and security requires the adoption of effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to peace, and to bring about by peaceful means the settlement of disputes and the development of friendly relations among nations.

My country hopes that the ending of the cold war will lead to the strengthening of the role of the United Nations and promote the adoption of practical measures that would ensure adherence to the provisions of the Charter. This would safeguard the sovereignty of States, their territorial integrity and economic independence; ensure the non-use of force and non-use of the threat of use of force; make possible the resolution of disputes by peaceful means; protect the right of all peoples to exercise self-determination; put an end to colonialism; eliminate all forms of racial discrimination; bring about the end of all occupation and achieve disarmament and the elimination of all weapons of mass destruction, in particular nuclear and chemical weapons.

The Syrian Arab Republic has always shown particular interest in the consolidation of international peace and security. It has also contributed effectively to the consolidation of peace and co-operation in the region of the

(Mr. Awad, Syrian Arab Republic)

Mediterranean by participating in adopting all the statements issued by the Mediterranean non-aligned countries in the meetings of their ministers of foreign affairs, particularly the Brioni Declaration of 1987 and the Algiers Declaration of 1990.

The consolidation of peace and security and of co-operation in the Mediterranean region requires the elimination of all hotbeds of tension in the region, a peaceful solution to all conflicts, respect for the sovereignty of States and their independence and territorial integrity, non-interference in their internal affairs, the non-use of force or the threat of the use of force, and the application of the principles of international law and the United Nations Charter.

On the basis of these concepts, my country continues to work to put an end to one of the major hotbeds of tension in the world and to achieve a just peace and a comprehensive settlement to the Middle East crisis. We are trying to do so through the convening of an international peace conference with the participation of all parties involved, including the Palestine Liberation Organization and the permanent members of the Security Council in order to bring about a full Israeli withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories and guarantee all the legitimate rights of the Arab Palestinian people.

Mr. TREIKI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (interpretation from Arabic): My delegation has already congratulated you, Mr. Chairman, on your election as Chairmanship of this important Committee, but now, as we are moving towards the end of this session, I should like to express the great appreciation of my country's delegation for the very effective and competent manner in which you have conducted proceedings in this Committee. As a result of that, we have attained the desired fruitful results. My long-standing confidence in your skills and your abilities, as demonstrated by the prominent role you have played both in the Security Council and in the United Nations system as a whole assured me of the success of our work

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

in this Committee. I base that on our co-operation over the years. As a member of the non-aligned group, may we say that we are very proud of you.

I should now like to discuss paragraph 68, which concerns the Mediterranean basin to which my country belongs, given the fact that our coast is the longest on the Mediterranean.

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

This important strategic area is one of the most sensitive in the world. And the most tense. Consequently, it is our collective responsibility as a world community to do everything we can to turn the Mediterranean region into a zone of peace in the service of mankind. The Mediterranean region has always been at the crossroads of the culture and science of many continents.

At the present time, the Mediterranean is an area of great tension as a result of an abnormal situation in the eastern part of its basin. This is largely due to the occupation of the territory of Palestine by the Zionist régime, and the policy of aggression against and occupation of Arab territories which that régime pursues. Day in and day out we witness air raids against Lebanon. Day in and day out we witness the manifestations of the policy of persecution, oppression and killing that is being pursued against the Palestinian people.

The Israeli threat is not confined to the eastern Mediterranean alone. It has spread to North Africa. Israeli planes have bombed Tunisia and its capital, Tunis. Over the past few months, the Mediterranean has also been used as a firing range for Israeli missile tests. One of those missiles fell near the Libyan coast.

The effects of the tension are not confined to the eastern Mediterranean. It has spread to the entire basin and, consequently, threatens international peace and security. In addition, several foreign flotillas now ride the waves of the Mediterranean. Some of those navies are from outside the region. This poses a threat to the security, stability and safety of the States of the region. Not long ago, my country was a victim of aggression. You may recall that other countries in the area have also been victims of aggression.

Peace and security in the Mediterranean are also threatened by the fact that in the past the Mediterranean was the scene of confrontation between various major Powers. Military bases consequently proliferated in the region. The

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

non-aligned countries have spared no effort in working for peace in the Mediterranean and have striven for the withdrawal of all foreign fleets. My country, in co-operation with other States, managed to help Malta rid itself of military bases. Indeed, we have supported Malta's efforts to transform its economy by helping that country to end the dependence of the Maltese economy on military bases and rely on its own resources and the support of its neighbours.

My country was one of the States which signed a document with Malta that respects Malta's sovereignty and its non-aligned status. We now consider Malta to be a country that plays a prominent role in the maintenance of the Mediterranean region's security. The convening of the non-aligned countries' first meeting in Malta was proof of that.

The failure to resolve the problem of Cyprus also affects safety and security in the Mediterranean. We have always called for and tried to find a solution to that problem so as to guarantee the independence, unity and non-aligned status of the island by resolving the conflict between the two parties to the dispute.

Despite the tension in the Mediterranean region, various attempts have been made by its countries to bring about co-operation and understanding. Several conferences have been held, the most recent of which were those between the countries of North Africa and certain European countries of the western Mediterranean. There was a conference in Rome which produced good results. The countries of North Africa also held a meeting in Brussels with a group of European Economic Community countries at the ministerial level, with a view to promoting co-operation between Europe and North Africa as well as between Europe and other Mediterranean countries.

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

One of the reasons of our concern regarding the presence of navies and military bases as well as the continuing military manoeuvres in the Mediterranean is that the Mediterranean has been polluted as a result of all this, to the detriment of the whole region. Although several timely technical conferences have been held in an attempt to address the problem of pollution, we believe that a political solution to the problem is needed. We had hoped, and continue to hope, that the end of the confrontation between the two military blocs and the resultant détente in Europe will help bring about a similar détente in the Mediterranean that would lead to the withdrawal of foreign fleets and the dismantling of military bases.

The security of the Mediterranean basin has always been linked to the security of Europe. The Mediterranean region and North Africa in particular have been the theatre of military operations between the European countries. My country suffered a great deal as a result of that confrontation. Even to this day we still face the problem of the mines planted in Libya's soil during the Second World War, especially in the areas which were contested by the Axis countries and the Allies. We have lost thousands of victims because of those mines. The continued menace of the mines has had an adverse impact on our economy and our growth. Consequently Libya's security is directly related to the security of the Mediterranean. We have welcomed and followed closely all of the European conferences held in Helsinki and, recently, in Paris. Obviously we support the resolutions of the Paris Conference. However, we do not accept that the security of the whole world is the security of Europe alone. The security of the world is one and indivisible, especially with regard to the Mediterranean region.

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

We have called persistently for a nuclear-weapons-free Mediterranean. All the Mediterranean States are signatories of the international agreements regarding the prohibition of the acquisition and use of nuclear weapons, with the single exception of the Israeli Government, which has persistently refused to commit itself to any such international convention. Israel continues to produce nuclear weapons without any international control and that, of course, aggravates the threats to the security of the region.

The existence of other weapons of mass destruction also affects the Mediterranean region. My country has always declared, both at the Paris Conference on Chemical Weapons and in the United Nations, that we are prepared to adhere to an international agreement that would completely eliminate weapons of mass destruction from the Mediterranean region. We strongly supported President Mubarak's proposal to turn the Mediterranean region into a zone free of biological, chemical and nuclear weapons. We hope the United Nations will adopt the necessary measures in that respect.

The security of the Mediterranean can be established only through the co-operation of all the coastal countries of the Mediterranean. Such co-operation will be possible only if we resolve the fundamental problem that faces us, namely the problem of Palestine, and enable the Palestinian people to exercise their right to self-determination, to return to their territory and to create their state on the national soil. The resolution of the Palestinian problem will contribute directly to the achievement of peace and security in the Mediterranean region. Co-operation between the region's coastal countries will do the same.

Co-operation has already begun between the countries of North Africa and European countries of the north Mediterranean and this too should be viewed as an important contribution.

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

We are very concerned about what is happening in the Mediterranean basin. The security of the Mediterranean region is not merely a regional question, but an international one. For that reason, we will co-operate with all the Mediterranean countries and, in particular, with the non-aligned countries in whose meetings we have participated, in trying to establish peace and security in the region and turn the Mediterranean region into a zone of peace in the service of international communications that would be free of military confrontation and tension.

Mr. MAVROMMATIS (Cyprus): It is indeed a great pleasure to address the Committee under your chairmanship, Sir.

The items under consideration by the Committee today are ones to which my delegation attaches particular importance, as it has done for many years.

In fact, those amongst the members of the Committee who are veterans will remember the elderly Ambassador of Cyprus, the late Zenon Rossides. He dedicated himself to the work of this Committee and particularly to international security, disarmament and the role of the United Nations. He was a firm believer in the imperative need of co-operation for collective security in the common interests of peace and survival. He felt - and I quote from his book entitled "International Security, Disarmament and the Role of the United Nations" - that:

"to build collective security, our primary concern should be to restore to the United Nations its intended effectiveness, as required by the Charter".

He was also of the opinion that

"the founders of the United Nations, in their wisdom and foresight, provided in the Charter for a security system, resting on the effective implementation of the decisions of the Security Council, through enforcement actions where necessary. This system constitutes the central axis around which the whole structure of the United Nations revolves."

(Mr. Mavrommatis, Cyprus)

When Ambassador Rossides raised these issues many years ago, there were those who brushed them aside as being out of touch with reality. Today, in the face of the changing international political landscape, his words and ideals have been fully vindicated and are very much in tune with reality.

The effective end of the cold war and, with it, bloc politics has shifted attention to the urgent need for a collective security system where we unite our strength to maintain international peace and security. We are at last seeing recognition of the fact that the development of a system of international security is, and remains, the primary responsibility of the United Nations under the Charter. In the declaration in the Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament it was stated that

> "Enduring international peace and security cannot be built on the accumulation of weaponry by military alliances nor be sustained by a precarious balance of deterrence or doctrines of strategic superiority. Genuine and lasting peace can only be created through the effective implementation of the security system provided for in the Charter of the United Nations and the speedy and substantial reduction of arms and armed forces". (S-10/2, para. 13)

The recent spate of both nuclear and conventional arms reduction agreements, the revolutionary changes taking place in Europe, and the reunification of Germany, as well as the move by the two super-Powers and their military blocs from the cold-war posture of distrust and confrontation to dialogue and co-operation, have given us all the hope that peace will in fact be the order of the day. We welcome these positive changes as well as the recent impetus towards solving regional conflicts through peaceful means and the more prominent role played by the United Nations in this respect.

(Mr. Mavrommatis, Cyprus)

There is no doubt that the euphoria created by the dawning of a new era was dealt its first serious blow with the Iraqi invasion and occupation of Kuwait. This crisis, however, has brought to the fore a United Nations that is determined not to stand silent and inactive in the face of flagrant violations of international law and the Charter which thereby threaten international peace and security. The collective message that United Nations Security Council resolutions are binding and must be implemented is one with which my delegation agrees and which it wholeheartedly endorses. It was in fact on the initiative of Cyprus that the General Assembly inscribed the item "Review of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security" on the agenda of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. Cyprus, having suffered both an invasion and continued occupation by a larger, militarily more powerful State, considers that the time is now ripe for serious consideration of the significance of Security Council resolutions in particular and United Nations resolutions in general and as a whole, and for the search for ways to ensure their transformation from mere words into deeds.

(Mr. Mavrommatis, Cyprus)

A word of caution should, however, be offered here. If the collective international moral conscience that has shown itself in the Gulf crisis is to be transformed into a permanent effective force to be reckoned with, then the call for the implementation of United Nations resolutions must be applied to all crises. To quote from a statement delivered by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Cyprus, Mr. George Iacovou, in New York on 3 October 1990:

> "In the new world order that we are resolved to build, there can be no selective application of principles, nor selective implementation of resolutions."

I do not believe that the international community wishes to appear to be condemning aggression in one case and condoning, through inaction, other cases of aggression. All Security Council resolutions carry equal weight, for they are all binding. Or is it that - to paraphrase George Orwell, in Animal Farm - all resolutions are binding, but some are more binding than others?

The President of the Republic of Cyprus, Mr. George Vassiliou, stated recently at the summit meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) in Paris:

> "As a small State, our first and most urgent concern is security. Small States cannot depend for their security on their own defensive capabilities. They are more dependent than powerful States on the surrounding environment and its stability, on the rules and principles of international law and, most of all, on the determination of the community of States to uphold and defend these principles."

In my delegation's first statement before the Committee we said that the international community was mesmerized by the speed and level of change that the international political architecture was undergoing. There is no more shining

(Mr. Mavrommatis, Cyprus)

example of this than events that have been witnessed in Europe over the last 12 months. Cyprus welcomes the positive events in Eastern and Central Europe, as well as the disarmament agreements culminating in the signing in Paris last week following 20 months of negotiations in Vienna, of the first Treaty on the reduction of conventional armed forces in Europe. The halting and reversing of the armaments race, both in the nuclear and in the conventional field, augurs well for the prospects of a collective security system.

The challenge that awaits us now is no longer to overcome the division that existed for so long between East and West in Europe, but to enhance and augment European unity and security through co-operation. Cyprus, as an active participant in the CSCE process, will continue to play its part in the realization of this objective. As a Mediterranean European country, Cyprus has twin reasons to watch very closely the unfolding of security developments in Europe.

The security of Europe and that of the Mediterranean are undeniably linked. The ripple effect of conflict in one region is felt in the other. Conversely, the positive developments in one region should also spread to the other region. This principle of the interdependence of the two regions was recognized in the Helsinki Final Act of 1975. The applicability of this - particularly the Mediterranean chapters - as well as of the Madrid and Vienna follow-up meetings, maintains its significance and importance for the States of the Mediterranean.

It is in this context that the Republic of Cyprus continues to be alarmed at the persistent conflicts and tensions in the region. Whether it is a matter of the Gulf crisis, the Middle East conflict, the question of Palestine, the situation in Lebanon or the continued occupation of part of the territory of the Republic of Cyprus by Turkey, peace and security in the region is eluding us. For our part, the Government of the Republic of Cyprus recognizes and believes that a demilitarized Cyprus can contribute substantially to peace and security in the

(Mr. Mavrommatis, Cyprus)

Mediterranean and in Europe and to international peace and security in the wider context. I take this opportunity to reaffirm our commitment to the total demilitarization of the Republic of Cyprus upon the withdrawal of the Turkish occupation forces. A solution to the Cyprus problem is long overdue. The Secretary-General himself recently recognized this when he said at the Paris summit meeting only last week:

> "The persistence of this problem, despite my continuous efforts, is incongruous with the attention given to and the drive towards peace-making demonstrated at this time."

The Secretary-General's singling out in Paris of the Cyprus problem as a European one is clear evidence of the inextricable link between Europe and the Mediterranean. The Government of the Republic of Cyprus is firmly committed to a just and viable negotiated settlement of the Cyprus problem based on the Charter and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations. Cyprus must not be allowed to remain a symbol of the confrontational past and an anachronism in a period when progress towards dialogue and peace is gaining momentum. We want to shed the image of a forcibly divided island in favour of a united one, for the benefit of all Cypriots.

My delegation welcomes and embraces the proposals for the convening of a conference on security and co-operation in the Mediterranean. We believe that such a conference should take as its inspiration the experiences of the CSCE process, both in substance and in procedure. We envisage that co-operation in the economic and social fields, protection of the environment and culture would be among the main issues to which a future conference would address itself. We believe that a Mediterranean document broadly on the lines of the Helsinki Final Act is needed, setting out the principles that would guide relations among the Mediterranean States.

(Mr. Mavrommatis, Cyprus)

The non-aligned countries of the Mediterranean have made, and are continuing to make, a significant contribution to the strengthening of security and co-operation in the Mediterranean. The Algiers Meeting, in June 1990, at which the non-aligned countries of the Mediterranean expressed their support for the convening of a conference on security and co-operation in the Mediterranean, was a further example of the readiness of the countries of the region to co-operate, thereby increasing mutual understanding and trust and in turn promoting stability, security and peace in the region.

My delegation also fully recognizes and welcomes the outcome of the meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the 10 countries of the western Mediterranean, held in Rome in October 1990, which outlined the desire to establish a new model of relations in the Mediterranean region. Co-operation between the countries of the region was expressed both in Rome and in the important meeting held in Palma de Mallorca in September-October 1990. The significance of this meeting cannot be overstressed as for the first time its participants included all the Mediterranean countries not participating in the CSCE. The central theme emerging from all the meetings was widespread agreement on a Mediterranean conference. We believe, further, that the process should begin sooner rather than later.

The Permanent Representative of Malta, Mr. Borg Olivier, succintly expressed the sentiments of my delegation in his statement before the Committee on 26 November, when he said:

> "besides enhancing security through arms limitation and disarmament measures, what will have an important bearing on security in the Mediterranean in the future is the elimination of disparities in the levels of social and economic development.... Regional military security must complement and not replace economic, humanitarian and environmental security." (A/C.1/45/PV.44, p.23)

(Mr. Mavrommatis, Cyprus)

I must again bring to the fore the necessity for the early implementation of the agreements reached at the CSCE meeting at Palma de Mallorca. With Europe rapidly transforming itself into an area of peace through dialogue and co-operation in formulating shared approaches to tackling common problems, there exists the opening and opportunity to convert the Mediterranean into a sea of peace and prosperity.

In ending, I wish to recount again the central argument of the late Ambassador Rossides concerning the need for co-operation for collective security in the common interest of peace and survival. Each and every State, large or small, can contribute to the furtherance of this through collective effort. Similarly, every time aggression is resorted to by one State against another, international peace and security is further threatened. We each have a responsibility, both individually and collectively, to restore to the Organization its intended role and effectiveness, with the community of nations defending right over might and peace and security for all.

Mr. OUDOVENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): Two decades ago the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. The Declaration contains 27 operative paragraphs, every one of which retains its relevance to the present day - its relevance in respect of reaffirming that States must fully respect the sovereignty of other States and the right of peoples to determine their own destinies, free of external intervention and that every State has the duty to refrain from the threat or use of force; recognizing the need for effective measures, in accordance with the Charter, to prevent and remove threats to peace and to suppress acts of aggressions; and calling for the cessation and reversal of the nuclear and conventional arms race. Of course, the Declaration also recognizes the primacy of the commitments of Members of the United Nations under the Charter and reaffirms the universal and unconditional validity of the purposes and principles of the Charter as a basis of relations among States. These are the things to which we refer when, today, we talk about the primacy of international law.

All these provisions of the Declaration have stood the test of time and retained their relevance. Many of them were further developed in numerous proposals of various States. In all of them a particular and central role is assigned to the United Nations and to the Charter of this world Organization. We could point to various initiatives to encourage a comprehensive approach to the strengthening of international peace and security, encompassing all aspects of the problem - political, military, economic, scientific, technological, ecological and social - as well as to views concerning the role of the United Nations and of international organizations connected with it in an interdependent world and views on the strengthening of the preventive functions of the United Nations which have already been developed in proposals made by other States.

(Mr. Oudovenko, Ukrainian SSR)

In this regard the Soviet Union and the United States have taken large-scale joint initiatives concerning the strengthening of international peace and security and international co-operation in all its aspects, in accordance with the United Nations Charter and responsibility for peace and security in a changing world supported in the United Nations.

Recently, significant positive changes have taken place in the international situation as a whole and in the attitude of many countries towards the resolution of existing and emerging problems. This is happening against a backdrop of new international approaches, which - on the basis of shared creativity and development, the rights and freedoms of the individual, universal ideals and values, freedom of choice and a variety of types of social development, in conditions of peace and security, for countries and peoples - are shifting from the area of studies and theory into the sphere of State policy. That concept assumes the rejection of opposition by force and confrontation in favour of a peaceful search for mutually acceptable decisions through negotiation and the total rejection of the use of force.

Security must be achieved through political and legal methods, and not through military solutions to existing or emerging problems. Rejection of the threat or use of force must become the rule of the international community and a principle of international contacts.

On the question of ensuring political security, it would be difficult to overestimate the role of the United Nations as a genuine world political centre. The United Nations has already, on many occasions, demonstrated its enormous potential in this regard. Suffice it to recall the settlements in respect of Namibia and Nicaragua, the very important efforts to resolve the Afghan and Cambodian problems - processes that are not entirely complete - the Organization's

(Mr. Oudovenko, Ukrainian SSR)

contribution to mobilization of action to rebuff the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait, and a number of other achievements.

Moreover, there is great potential to enhance the role of the United Nations further by increasing the effectiveness of its structure and mechanisms - above all, the Security Council - with a view to preventing the emergence of conflict situations or achieving political settlements to those that do emerge.

In the sphere of military security, in our view, there is now a need for closer involvement by the United Nations in the disarmament process and a need to expand the Organization's peace-keeping operations.

Of great significance in the context of resolving the political aspects of security are the processes taking place in Europe - the unification of Germany, the adoption of the Paris Charter for a New Europe, the planned institutionalization of the general European process, the establishment of joint structures for security in Europe. The Paris summit meeting of States parties to the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe has great significance. Its results demonstrate that the era of confrontation and division on the continent has come to an end. The cold war, which at times threatened to develop into a hot war, has ended. A solid foundation has been laid for the construction of a new Europe. Europe is confidently entering a new era of democracy, peace and unity, in which the success of all will be based on economic freedom, social justice and equal security.

In his message to the parties to the Paris meeting, the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, Mr. Kravchuk, noted, among other things,

"The Ukraine is a major European State. The history of the culture of the Ukraine is an integral part of European civilization. As one of the founding States of the United Nations, and as a participant in the post-war peaceful settlement in Europe, the Ukraine, together with other States, is ready and

(Mr. Oudovenko, Ukrainian SSR)

able to bear responsibility for ensuring peace and the development of international co-operation in Europe."

That is our approach, and it is based on the provision of the Declaration on State Sovereignty of the Ukraine, which proclaims that the Ukrainian SSR is a fully fledged participant in international contacts, is actively promoting the strengthening of general peace and international security and is participating directly in the general European process and in European structures.

Thus the Ukraine, on the basis of its Declaration of State Sovereignty, intends to play an important role in building a common European home, in strengthening peace and in developing good-neighbourly relations between States on the basis of principles of humanism and democracy.

The Ukraine attaches great significance to the dynamic development of direct relations of various kinds with bordering States. For example, in October this year the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Ukraine and of Poland signed a declaration on principles in major areas for the development of Ukrainian-Polish relations. That Declaration laid a solid basis for the active development of political, diplomatic, consular, trade, economic, social and cultural ties. Intensive dialogue is taking place with Hungary and with other neighbouring countries. The Ukraine's ties with the Russian Federation have a particular role to play. The Treaty signed recently by the Heads of the two Republics, which regulates bilateral relations, is an important event to them as sovereign, equal States.

(Mr. Oudovenko, Ukrainian SSR)

The security of States is guaranteed not by a maximum build-up of weapons but indeed on the contrary by a minimally low level of weapons, by restricting military potential to limits of reasonable, that is defensive, sufficiency, where each side has every possibility to defend itself but does not have the capability to attack others. The way to military security lies through disarmament.

In this area also, significant results have recently been achieved: the implementation of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles; the signing of the Soviet-American agreement on destroying chemical weapons; the European countries are implementing many unilateral disarmament measures; and the long-awaited agreement has been signed on the reduction of conventional armed forces and arms in Europe. There is a need for more active involvement of the United Nations to ensure continuity, order and the global nature of the disarmament process, that is, to ensure that it encompasses all types of weapons and armed forces and provides an opportunity to all countries to participate in it.

The significance of the non-military components of security is also growing. Extremely relevant now in our view was the solution to serious economic, ecological and medical problems, problems of scientific and technical development, which are fraught with very serious consequences. Social and humanitarian problems are indeed momentous.

In public life there should be a reaffirmation of the ultimate primacy of universal human values, the priority of international law, fundamental human rights and freedoms. One of the basic objectives of the United Nations Decade of International Law should be the establishment of international law as a basis for peaceful relations in the post-confrontation period. Here, in our view, a great

(Mr. Oudovenko, Ukrainian SSR)

role can be played by the United Nations as a universal centre where the positions of States are agreed upon and methods are worked out to resolve these global problems.

In the complex mosaic of the problem of strengthening international security an important place belongs to the region of the Mediterranean Sea. The Ukrainian SSR as a Black Sea State and consequently also as a Mediterranean State is interested in seeing broad dialogue and interaction between all States of the region to transform it into a zone of stable peace, security and co-operation. The military-political situation in the Mediterranean region could be improved. On the rest of the European continent we can see an improvement in the international situation, a departure from confrontation, a strengthening of trust among States and a beginning of disarmament processes, but the Mediterranean Sea still remains a focus of intense Middle East conflict, an area of a continuing arms race, which threatens to spread throughout the region nuclear, chemical and other types of sophisticated weapons, in particular, powerful missiles. Here major naval strike units are still deployed.

Such a threatening situation in the region clearly could be defused by the implementation of the proposals made by the Soviet Union for a stage-by-stage demilitarization of the Mediterranean Sea. A beginning here could be a freeze on the numbers of Soviet and American ships, the naval potential of these countries, and the introduction of agreed upon quantitative limits, an exchange of information concerning military exercises, the sending of ships, and then a full and simultaneous withdrawal from the Mediterranean of American and Soviet warships.

Extremely careful study should be given to the proposals of several countries of the region concerning the withdrawal from the Mediterranean of all foreign bases and fleets and a reduction of naval activity to a minimally necessary level. In

(Mr. Oudovenko, Ukrainian SSR)

this region too, to strengthen security, non-military factors are extremely important: a comprehensive development of regional co-operation in the areas of the economy, transportation, tourism, culture, science and technology. This would lead to a reaffirmation of trust among peoples who inhabit the Mediterranean region and a lowering of the level of confrontation among States. Ecological problems are an important element of security in the Mediterranean and are extremely serious. The meeting held recently within the context of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) in Palma de Majorca was extremely useful for stimulating the socio-economic development of countries of the region, the protection of ecosystems, the biosphere and the natural resources of the Mediterranean. The speedy implementation of the recommendations of that meeting would allow for the strengthening of security and improved co-operation in the region which is of great significance for international security in Europe and in the world as a whole. The Ukrainian SSR is ready actively to participate in constructive efforts in this area.

The Ukrainian SSR is convinced that active dissemination of ideas of peaceful co-operation and mutually advantageous development of all States and peoples of the planet is playing a great role in establishing a new world order, in the formation of a spiritual and moral basis for a non-violent, safe world, a solid system of international security. The reaffirmation and people's awareness of the inalienable right to life in the world as a fundamental universal human value is one of the most important elements of the concept of new political thinking. The basis of that concept is the primacy of universal human values, freedom of choice, repudiation of confrontation as a basis for foreign policy, a total renunciation of the use of force, demilitarization and disarmament. There is a rejection of obsolete concepts and designs, a wish to see everything in black and white. Thus

(Mr. Oudovenko, Ukrainian SSR)

the provisions of the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace are being implemented.

The Ukrainian SSR attaches great significance to the dissemination of ideas of friendship, good-neighbourliness and mutually beneficial co-operation in conditions of peaceful development, mutual understanding and respect for the integrity and unique character of all peoples. A significant expansion of contacts among people on the whole promotes the implementation of the ideas of friendship and peace and clearly dispels the antiquated stereotypes of the enemy, promotes a strengthening of mutual trust and the establishment of normal human relations. Article 67 of the Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR states:

> "The international duty of a citizen of the Ukrainian SSR is to promote the development of friendship and co-operation with peoples of other countries to support and strengthen universal peace."

The popularization and propagation of these principles is considered in the Republic as an important objective and they play a very important role in the entire system of upbringing, training and education.

An important role in reaffirming in people's awareness the idea of the right to live in peace is played by public organizations in the Ukraine, such as the Ukrainian Republic Peace Committee, the Ukrainian Association to Advance the United Nations, established last year, the Ecological Association, Green World, the Committee of Youth Organizations and others. For example, the measures carried out by the Ukrainian Peace Committee are well known and include walks, marches and cruises for peace. The association, Journalists for Peace, established with that Committee, the group, Travels for Peace, and the human rights associations are very active in the Ukraine. A great deal of attention is being paid in our Republic to

(Mr. Oudovenko, Ukrainian SSR)

bringing up the growing generation in a spirit of peace, peaceful co-operation and internationalism. The clubs of international friendship are now widespread as is the practice of having Ukrainian high school and college students travel abroad for study and study tours with return visits of their contemporaries to Ukrainian schools, institutes of higher learning, pioneer and youth camps.

Every year on 1 September there are lessons on peace in schools, technical institutes and vocational schools. These and other such undertakings promote the bringing up of Ukrainian youth in a spirit of the ideals of peace and co-operation, mutual understanding and good-neighbourliness. Thus, inasmuch as it attaches great significance to implementation of the principles of the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace, the Ukrainian SSR is undertaking all possible measures to implement them and considers it extremely important to make new collective efforts aimed at strengthening peace and international security, once and for all eliminating the threat of war. Here the role of the United Nations is invaluable as a link which can organize and co-ordinate these efforts. The Ukrainian SSR is actively co-operating with the United Nations for this purpose and is ready to continue to develop such interaction in the future.

Mr. KOTEVSKI (Yugoslavia): On behalf of the group of countries consisting of Algeria, Bangladesh, Cuba, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Madagascar, Malaysia, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Yugoslavia, I have the honour to introduce draft resolution A/C.1/45/L.66.

Proceeding from the significant changes in international relations that have taken place in the period since our last session, the sponsors of this draft resolution point out in particular their positive consequences, manifested first and foremost in the cessation of the cold war, the creation of a new, more diversified relationship between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America, new developments in Europe, and the progress made in dealing with some regional crises.

At the same time, the sponsors recognize that despite all positive developments problems continue to exist which threaten international peace and security and the solution of which calls for additional efforts by all. In this context the sponsors emphasize that the strengthening of international security and the maintenance of international peace do not depend only on the solution of crises, on the prevention of the use of force or on disarmament.

In the opinion of the sponsors, international peace and security are also dependent on the solution of other important global problems that continue to beset the current international situation. These include the problems of development, the difficult economic situations in developing countries, the environment, respect for human rights, and so on. In this connection, the draft resolution stresses the responsibility of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and the strengthening of security, and the need for the strengthening of the Organization's role in the changed international circumstances.

We believe that the solution of such a broad complex of problems calls for a concentrated and comprehensive approach at the multilateral level, particularly

(Mr. Kotevski, Yugoslavia)

within the framework of the United Nations. This would bring about respect for the principles and the attainment of the goals enshrined in the Charter of our Organization in the best possible way.

Finally, I should like to draw attention to a typographical error in the draft resolution. In the second line of operative paragraph 5 the word "limitation" should read "elimination".

In conclusion, let me express the expectation of the sponsors that the draft resolution will be supported by the great majority of the countries represented in the General Assembly.

The meeting rose at 11.55 a.m.